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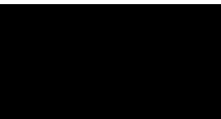

A COMPARISON  
OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON PURGED COMMUNIST LEADERS  
Before and After Losing Favor  
As Found in Quotations from  
Stalin  
And Other High Communist Leaders

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A. Stalin and the Soviet Government: Official Statements

1. STALIN on Trotsky, 1912-1913

- a. "Despite his 'heroic' efforts and 'terrible threats' Trotsky proved in the end to be just a loud-mouthed champion with fake muscles, for after five years of 'work' he did not succeed in uniting anybody but the Liquidators, new fuss, old affairs." (Stalin's Article "The Elections of St. Petersburg" in Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 30, 12 January 1913)
- b. "Trotsky lumps everyone together, opponents and supporters of the Party alike, and of course, he gets no unity whatever. . . . The practical experiment of the movement shatters Trotsky's childish plan of uniting the un-unifiable." (Stalin, "The Results of the Elections in Worker's Curia of St. Petersburg", in Pravda, No. 150, 24 October 1912.) Similarly quoted in Deutscher, I., Stalin: A Political Biography, New York, 1949, p. 121

2. 1918

"From the beginning to end the October insurrection was inspired by the Central Committee of the Party, with Lenin at its head. Lenin at that time lived in Petrograd on the Vyborg side in a secret apartment. On October 24 in the evening, he was called out to Smolny to assume general charge of the movement. All practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Trotsky, the president of the Petrograd Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the efficient manner in which work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organized. The principal assistants of Trotsky were Antonov and Podvoisky." (Stalin, "The October Revolution", in Pravda, No. 241, 6 November 1918., New York, 1934, p. 30)

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3. 1919. Politburo Document

Moscow, July 5, 1919

The Communist Party of Russia (B)  
Central Committee  
Kremlin

"The Organizational Bureau and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, after considering the statement of Comrade Trotsky and discussing it in full, have come to unanimous conclusion that his resignation cannot be accepted, being entirely out of question.

"The Organization Bureau and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee will do all that they can to make more convenient for Comrade Trotsky, and more fruitful for the Republic, that work on the Southern Front which Comrade Trotsky has chosen and which is most difficult, the most dangerous and the most important at the present moment. In his position as People's Commissar for War and Chairman of the Military Council, Comrade Trotsky is also fully empowered to act as a member of the Military Revolutionary Council of the Southern Front with the Commissar of the Southern Front (Yegerov) whom he himself proposed and whom the Central Committee has confirmed.

"The Organization Bureau of Political Bureau of the Central Committee give Comrade Trotsky full authority by every means whatsoever to achieve what he considers a necessary correction of policy on the military question and, if he so desires, to expedite the Congress of the Party.

"Firmly convinced that the withdrawal of Comrade Trotsky at the present moment is absolutely impossible, and that it would cause the greatest injury to the Republic, the Organization Bureau of Central Committee emphatically suggest to Comrade Trotsky not to raise this question again and to fulfill his functions in the future if he so desires, concentrating them in the maximum on his work at the Southern Front.

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"In view of this the Organization Bureau and the Political Bureau of Central Committee reject both the resignation of Comrade Trotsky from the Political Bureau and his withdrawal from the post of Chairman of the Military Council of the Republic."

(Peoples' Commissar for War)

Signed: "Lenin"  
"Kamenev"  
"Krestinsky"  
"Kalinin"  
"Serebrennikov"  
"Stalin"  
"Stassova"

"Checked by Secretary of the Central Committee  
Helena Stassova"

(Trotsky, "Stalin School of Falsification",  
Selected Works, II, Pioneer Publishers,  
1937)

4. Pravda, 18 December 1923, published a reassuring statement from the Politburo, briefly defending Trotsky:

"The Political Bureau denounces as malevolent invention the suggestion that there is in the Central Committee of the Party or in the Political Bureau any single comrade who can conceive of the Central Committee or its executive organs without the most active participation of Comrade Trotsky. . . Believing friendly cooperation with Comrade Trotsky to be absolutely indispensable in all the Executive Organs of the Party and the State, the Political Bureau hold themselves bound to do all in their power to assure this friendly cooperation in the future." (Souvarine, Boris, Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, Translated by C. L. R. James, New York, 1949, p. 341)

5. Stalin, in Pravda, 15 December 1923

"As is apparent from his letter, Comrade Trotsky counts himself as one of the Bolshevik Old Guard, declaring his readiness to share in the responsibility arising from this fact, if charges of later heresies

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were brought against the old Bolsheviks. In expressing his willingness for self-sacrifice, Comrade Trotsky no doubt displays nobility of sentiment. Agreed. But I must undertake the defense of Trotsky against himself, because of reasons which will be readily understood, he cannot and should not hold himself responsible for any later heresies of the original group of old Bolsheviks. His offer of sacrifice is no doubt a very noble thing, but do the Old Bolsheviks need it? I do not think so. (Souvarine, op. cit. p. 341)

6. Letter from the Petrograd Organization, 18 December 1923

"Without concurring in errors of Comrade Trotsky, the Petrograd organization declare that, in agreement with the Central Committee of the Party, they naturally consider friendly cooperation with Comrade Trotsky in all the governing institutions of the Party to be indispensable. There has been, and probably will be again, more than one disagreement in the Central Committee. But certainly no comrade conceives the governing institutions of the Party without the active participation of Comrade Trotsky." (Souvarine, op. cit., p. 343.)

7. Stalin, Speech on The Lessons of October, November, 1924

a. "I'm far from denying the undoubtedly important role of Comrade Trotsky in the uprising. But I must state that Comrade Trotsky did not and could not have played any special role in the October rising; that being the President of the Petrograd Soviet, he only carried into effect the will of the respective Party authorities which guided every step of Comrade Trotsky."

b. "Trotsky, who was a relative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not and could not have played any special role either in the Party or in the October uprising. Like all the responsible functionaries, he was only executing the will of the Central Committee and its organs."

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c. "I am far from denying the important role Comrade Trotsky played in the Civil War. But I must declare with the utmost emphasis that the high honour of organizing our victories belongs not to any individual person but to the great collective of the front-rank workers of our country - the Russian Communist Party." (Stalin, The October Revolution, Souvarine, op. cit., pp 383, 384)

8. The following excerpts are from a speech by Stalin at the Plenum of the Bolshevik Fraction of the Trade Unions, 19 November 1924.

a. "After hearing Comrade Trotsky one might think that the Party of the Bolsheviks did nothing else throughout the entire period of preparation from March until October except to mark time, corroded by internal contradiction, and hamper Lenin in every way. And if it were not for Comrade Trotsky, the October Revolution might have taken quite another course. It is rather amusing to hear such peculiar speeches about the Party from Comrade Trotsky, who declared in the same foreword to the Third Volume that 'The basic instrument of the proletarian revolution is the party.' (Trotsky, Leon, Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and his Influence, New York, 1947, p. 418)

b. "Trotsky himself, by systematically avoiding mention of the Party, the Central Committee of the Party and the Leningrad Committee of the Party, by hushing up the leading role of these organizations in the uprising and emphatically pushing himself to the fore as the central figure of the October uprising, intentionally or unintentionally contributed to the dissemination of the rumors about a special role of Trotsky in the uprising; that being the president of the Petrograd Soviet, he only carried into effect the will of the respective Party authorities, which guided every step of Trotsky. This may appear strange to philistines like Sukhanov, but the facts, the actual facts, fully and entirely bear out this assertion. (Stalin, The October Revolution, New York, 1934, p. 71)

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c. "Some say: Let us admit this, still it is impossible to deny that Trotsky fought well at the time of October. Yes, it is true, Trotsky really fought well in October; even such people as the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who then stood shoulder to shoulder with the Bolsheviks, did not fight badly. In general, I must state that during a victorious uprising, when the enemy is isolated and the rebellion is spreading, it is not difficult to fight well. In such moments even backward people become heroes." (Stalin, The October Revolution, New York, 1934, p. 72)

d. From Stalin's speech, "Trotskyism or Leninism"

". . . for Comrade Trotsky, who was a comparative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not, and could not have played a special role, either in the Party or in the October uprising." (Stalin, The October Revolution, New York, 1934, p. 72)

e. "Yes, that is true, Comrade Trotsky really fought well during October. But Comrade Trotsky was not the only one who fought well during the period of October, even such people as the Left Social Revolutionaries, who then stood shoulder to shoulder with the Bolsheviks, did not fight badly," etc. (Souvarine, op. cit., p. 384)

9. Year not indicated (appears to be from period 1924-1925)

STALIN:

"It is strange that Comrade Trotsky, the "inspirer", "chief figure", "sole leader" of the insurrection was not a member of the practical center which was called upon to lead the insurrection. How is it possible to reconcile that with the current opinion about Trotsky's special role." (Trotsky, op. cit., p. 212)

10. From Stalin's speech to the Fifteenth Conference of the Communist Party, November 1926.

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"Trotsky has done all that is possible for us to have two rival newspapers, two rival platforms, two conferences which repudiate each other and now this champion with fake muscles himself is singing to us about unity!" (Stalin, J., Stalin's Kampf, Joseph Stalin's Credo, New York, 1940)

11. 1933. STALIN:

"We must bear in mind that the growth of the power of the Soviet State will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and living their last days they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharpen forms of attack, appealing to backward strata of population and mobilizing them against the Soviet power. There is no foul lie or slander that these "have beens" would not use against the Soviet power and around which they would not try to mobilize the backward elements. This may give ground for the revival of the activities of the defeated group of the old counter-revolutionaries, parties; the Social-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the bourgeois nationalists in the center and outlying regions; it may give grounds also for revival of activities of the fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements from among the Trotskyites and Right deviationists. Of course, there is nothing terrible in this. But we must bear all this in mind if we want to put an end to these elements quickly and without great loss." (Stalin, The Results of the First Five Year Plan. Report delivered at the Joint Plenum of Central Committee, Central Control Commission of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, January 7, 1933, Cooperative Publishing Society, of Foreign Workers in USSR, Moscow, 1933)

B. STALIN on Trotskyism, 1937 --- 1939

1. The general thesis of accusations against Trotskyism during the purge trials was summed up in March 1939 by Stalin as follows:



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"From the political tendency, which it showed six or seven years earlier, Trotskyism has become a mad unprincipled gang of saboteurs, of agents of diversion, of assassins acting on the orders of the espionage services of foreign states." (Souvarine, Boris, Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, translated by C. L. R. James, New York, 1939, p. 652)

2. 1939

"Is it not surprising that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyist and Bukharinist leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried out conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October revolution? How could we have failed to notice so grave a matter? How are we to explain this blunder? (Stalin, "Problems of Leninism" quoted in Deutscher, I., Stalin: A Political Biography, New York, 1949, p. 384)

C. LENIN, in Praise of Trotsky

1. 1917

On 16 April 1917, when Trotsky was in concentration camp with German sailors, Lenin wrote in Pravda:

"Can one even for a moment believe the trustworthiness of the statement . . . that Trotsky, the former chairman of the Soviet Workers' Deputies in Petersburg in 1905 - a revolutionist who has devoted decades to the disinterested service of revolution - that this man had anything to do with a scheme subsidized by the German government? This is clearly a monstrous and unscrupulous slander against a revolutionist." (Pravda, No. 34, 16 April 1917)

- a. "No one would think of disputing a candidature such as that of L. D. Trotsky", Lenin wrote, with regard to the Bolshevik list of candidates to the Constituent.

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- b. "Trotsky has been saying for a long time that unity is impossible. Trotsky grasped the fact, and, since then, there has been no better Bolshevik . . ."  
(Souvarine, Boris, Stalin, A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, Translated by C. L. R. James, New York, 1939, p. 162)

2. Undated. Reference to Trotsky's military leadership during the Russian Civil War. (Statement reported by Gorky as having been made by Lenin in private conversation concerning Trotsky.)

"Show me any other men capable of organizing an almost model army in one year and moreover of winning the sympathy of professional soldiers. We have that man. We have everything. You will see miracles." (Souvarine, op. cit., pp. 222--223)

3. When opposition to methods of directing the civil war arose, including behind-the-scenes participation by Stalin, Lenin wrote in July, 1919:

"If we have defeated Kolchak and Denekin, it is because discipline is stronger with us than in all the capitalist countries of the world. Trotsky has established the death penalty, and I approve this.

"Knowing the strict character of Comrade Trotsky's orders, I am so convinced, so absolutely convinced of the correctness, expediency and necessity for the success of the cause of the order given by Comrade Trotsky that I unreservedly endorse this order." (Souvarine, op. cit., p. 250)

D. Lenin on Stalin

1. The fraternity of "Old Bolsheviks" were determined to

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restrict Trotsky's influence in the Party and keep key Party and State positions. Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Stalin favored the plan. To assure success of the plan, they sought the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

In 1922 they succeeded after the Eleventh Party Congress. Stalin became General Secretary in succession to Molotov, who was relegated to the post of assistant.

Lenin said of the new secretary:

"This cook will prepare only peppery dishes." (Souvarine, Boris. Stalin, A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, New York, 1939, p. 285)

2. January 4, 1923

"Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relation to us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority - namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, et cetera. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky, which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance." (Shub, David. Lenin, A Biography, New York, 1948, p. 382)

E. BUKHARIN, in praise of Trotsky

1. "The centre of the work of mobilization was the Petrograd Soviet, which had acclaimed as President Trotsky, the most

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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

brilliant tribune of proletarian insurrection." (Souvarine, Boris, Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, Translated by C. L. R. James, New York, 1939, p. 180)

2. 1917

"Trotsky, splendid and courageous tribune of the rising, indefatigable and ardent apostle of revolution, declared in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee at the Petrograd Soviet, with thunder of applause from those present, that the Provisional Government no longer existed. And as living proof of this fact there appeared in the tribune Lenin, whom the new revolution had liberated from the mystery which had surrounded him." (Souvarine, op. cit., p. 183)

(Souvarine does not cite the writings of Bukharin in which these two statements appear.)

F. STALIN, on Zinoviev and Kamenev

1. Stalin countered Zinoviev's and Kamenev's demand for reprisals against Trotsky in 1924:

"We have not agreed with Zinoviev and Kamenev, because we have known that a "policy of chopping off (heads) is fraught with great dangers . . . The method of chopping off and blood-letting--and they did demand blood--is dangerous and infectious. You chop off one head today, another one tomorrow, still another one day after--what in the end will be left of the party?" (Stalin, "Sochinenija", vol. vii, p. 380; quoted in Deutscher, I., Stalin, A Political Biography, New York, 1949, p. 347.)

2. 1927. Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party

STALIN:

"Enough, comrades, an end must be put to this game . . . Kamenev's speech is the most lying, pharisaical, scoundrelly and roguish, of all opposition speeches that have

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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

been made from this platform." (Syezd VKD" (b) p. 1318,  
quoted in Deutscher, op. cit., p. 311)

G. CZECHOSLOVAK PURGES, 1951

1. An article in Tvorba, 3 December, presumably written by Zapotocky, applied the term "cosmopolite" to Rudolf Slansky:

"Cosmopolitanism is the ideology of rightist socialists and of fifth columnists in labor movements, peace movements, national liberation movements and other progressive movements. It is the ideology of treacherous emigres -- the new Hachas and Quislings in our history. It is the ideology of traitors in the Communist movement, such as bourgeois nationalists and cosmopolites like Tito, Rankovic, Traicho Kostov, Koci Dzodze, Rajk, Sling, Svermova, Slansky and others."

"It is the enemy's aim to hinder the Party's capacity to act and its power of attraction. . . that was the aim of all cosmopolite agents of the class enemy, such as Sling, Slansky, and others who temporarily succeeded in influencing party members. It was not a coincidence that these peoples surrounded themselves with similar individuals and purposefully disrupted cadre activities." (News from Behind the Iron Curtain, National Committee for Free Europe, vol. 1, no. 1, New York, January 1952, p. 2)

2. Only four months before Slansky's arrest, Czechoslovak leaders called him "an outstanding Communist revolutionary". On 30 July, the day before Slansky's birthday, Gottwald awarded him the Order of Socialism for "building Communism, fighting reaction and defending the State".

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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

On 31 July, Rude Pravo published a congratulatory letter to Slansky from Gottwald and Zapotocky. In the same issue, a five column article praised Slansky's two volume work, For the Victory of Socialism. The reviewer said that the "Book (was) indispensable for all Socialists." In another full-page article, Vaclav, Kopecky, Minister of Information, described Slansky as a "leading Socialist, a devoted follower of Lenin and Stalin, and a faithful collaborator of Clement Gottwald". The 2 August edition of Tvorba, a Communist Party weekly, carried Slansky's photograph on its cover and the slogan--"by Alliance with the Soviet Union, we shall safeguard the Independence of the Czechoslovak Republic".

Ladislav Kopriva, Czechoslovak Minister of National Security, linked Slansky's deviationism with the "imperialist conspiracy" to recruit traitors within the Communist orbit, and added that conspiracies in Czechoslovakia were a normal occurrence in the process of socialization, analagous to similar incidents in the Soviet Union.

"Our Czechoslovak traitors," said Kopriva, "Sling, Svermova, Clementis, Husak, Novomesky, Slansky and others--can be compared to Russia's Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov. Our conspiracies are therefore not

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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

extraordinary but only further evidence that our country is subject to the same laws of socialistic development as the Soviet Union." (News from Behind the Iron Curtain, National Committee for Free Europe, vol. 1, No. 1, New York, January 1952, p. 2)

#### H. STALIN: Other Pertinent Quotations

1. On 31 December 1910, Stalin wrote a letter from his exile in Solvychevodsk to Paris. It has been published many times in Russia, and, until the purges, always began:

"Comrade Semeon! Yesterday I received from a comrade your letter. First of all, warmest greetings to Lenin, Kamenev, and the others . . . ."

But after the purge of Kamenev, the letter was quoted by Beria and by Stalin himself in his history, without any salutation whatsoever. Semeon's name disappeared along with Lenin's and Kamenev's and the letter was published once more "In full" (Stalin's Collected Works, Russian Edition, vol. II, p. 209) but it now reads:

"Comrade Semeon! First of all, warmest greetings to Lenin and the others. . . ." (Wolfe, Bertram. Three Who Made a Revolution, New York, 1948, p. 455)

2. Statement attributed to Stalin, year and circumstances not indicated, quoted by Souvarine in connection with the purge of 1937-1938.

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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

"To choose the victim, to prepare the blow with care, to sate an implacable vengeance, and then go to bed. . . There is nothing sweeter in the world!" (Souvarine, Boris, Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism, New York, 1939, p. 659)

3. "Undoubtedly we shall have no further need of resorting to the method of mass purges." (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 625)

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